

# PEACE NEWS

For War-Resistance and World-Community

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THREE PENCE

## Atlantic Pact— Organised Fear

IF a Martian invasion could threaten our own minor Planet, it is possible that the dream of international unity would be fulfilled overnight.

Common fear is a powerful cement, and there is a cynical conviction that fear is indeed the only effective synthesis. Fear certainly can bring nations together. The only thing the cynic does not realise is that it doesn't keep them together, as is evident by the present detachment of Russia.

Nevertheless, fear is now impelling the Western Powers towards increasing military integration, of which the Atlantic Treaty is the present focus. And inevitably this still further sub-

### COMMENTARY

by

Reginald Sorensen, M.P.

stantiates American dominance. To that extent the warnings of Communists and their allies are justified, notwithstanding the ulterior political nature of those warnings and their deliberate evasion of any recognition of Russia's share of responsibility for the situation.

Western defence plans are a logical sequence, given the initial hypothesis that military measures are necessary against a real contingency of Communist aggression. Hence pacifist and other criticisms of conscription and the increasing burden of arms appears largely irrelevant to most people at the present time, despite general emotional aversion. That a thing worth doing is worth doing well seems to be the popular conclusion reluctantly applied to the present lamentable circumstances. Unilateral disarmament, with the discipline and profound moral conviction this involves, makes little impression on the average citizen, whether parson, publican or plumber.

### Peril to Democracy

YET, of course, the democratic endorsement of vast military defence, absorbing as it does over a million British workers sorely needed for economic production, evokes peril to democracy itself, as well as the dismal prospect of renewed European devastation should war ensue. A writer in The Observer, for instance, declares,

"It is intimated here (Washington) that the kind of defence contemplated if Europe is attacked at all soon is a fighting retreat. . . . Perhaps the greatest achievement of the Pact will have been if the armed forces of all the nations can make that retreat together without breaking apart to defend their own national territories."

One can easily translate that statement in terms of wholesale shambles and rubble.

America is to supply great quantities of arms for such a preliminary retreat, although it is further intimated

"These weapons, not inconsiderable, although obsolescent in great part, can be sent as soon as Congress acts."

"It is not clear by this whether the atomic bomber made available will be of the obsolescent Hiroshima type."

There is, however, another salutary paradox apart from saving Europe by preparative ruin, for the writer also states,

"The long view is positive security in Europe rather than 'defending' it, and security is thought to be in basic industrial rehabilitation as much as in military science. . . . The modern (military) division is so costly that the modern State can afford but a few, and balancing economic health against absolute defence the experts have decided for the former."

Well, well, well! That is very civilised of them, and it is encouraging

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX)

### Pacifists Meet at Mahatma's Home

## WILL INDIA TREAD GANDHI'S PATH?

—Dr. Prasad, President  
of National Congress

In preparation for the World Pacifist Meeting at Santiniketan, India, in December, 1949, a Conference of Pacifists was held at Sevagram, home of Mahatma Gandhi, from Jan. 26 to 28. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of Congress, presided and about 50 people attended, representing various groups and countries.

DR. PRASAD, inaugurating the Conference, said that India had to decide whether or not she would follow the path laid down by Mahatma Gandhi which won her independence. Truth and Non-violence were synonymous and, to achieve real peace, it would be necessary to take them as the basis of our thought and action. As an expression of these creeds, our lives should be simple and unostentatious, for real happiness was to be found in the spirit; it had not been guaranteed by modern science.

Horace Alexander, Quaker friend of Gandhi, narrated the origin and progress of plans for the World Pacifist Meeting which was first planned to be held in January, 1949. Its original object was to afford an opportunity for pacifists from the different parts of the world to meet under the guidance of the Mahatma. In spite of his death the project was being pursued, for it was felt that in his absence, it was all the more necessary to hold this Conference. Unfortunately, however, it had to be postponed because sufficient passages for overseas delegates were not available, and more time was found to be necessary to complete the organisational work, including the task of raising funds.

### A FRESH LEAD

The object of the World Pacifist Meeting would be a long term one, to try to turn man's mind in a different direction, to give a fresh lead in man's striving for peace. It was very fitting that, in spite of India's failure to follow Gandhi's methods fully, the Conference should be held in India; for as Pandit Nehru had said, "Something of Gandhi's message has entered into the fibre of the nation."

This was also reflected in Professor Albert Einstein's message which ap-

peared in Peace News last week.

On the second day of the Preparatory Conference, Dr. J. C. Kumarappa spoke on "Constructive Work and the Way of Peace."

He said that constructive work was the basis for efforts to achieve peace. And the first requisite was to remodel our personal and daily lives, so that we might be better instruments for the work of peace. A way of life was needed which would make totalitarianism impossible and remove the causes of war. Self-sufficiency was one of the main principles of the Constructive Programme. But there could be a legitimate exchange of surplus articles which would enrich the life of all those concerned. We should promote a self-control and self-reliance rather than constant dependence on Government. The spirit, ideal and the goal of the producer were more important than the methods of production.

### BASIS FOR ALL ACTIVITIES

Sri K. Mashruwala, Editor of Harijan, said that most of our troubles were due to our divorcing God from life. God, realised as Truth and Righteousness, should be the basis of all our activities. It was necessary for an individual to lead a good life, to realise peace within himself before he could disseminate it to others.

Muriel Lester recounted the story of the triumph of love over hatred and bestiality in the life of a German, who was converted to the way of non-violence by what he saw of it in India. Such triumphs were due to individual dedication and trust in God.

Donald Groom stressed the need for a fellowship in India which could give strength and support to the individual in his testimony for Truth and Non-violence. In the West the Society of Friends had shown that such groups could be centres of fellowship in the undertaking and fulfilling of God's will for man.

HIRALAL BOSE



(Photo: Dick Steinback, Manitoba Canada)

In 1930 these Russian Mennonite conscientious objectors were working in an alternative service camp in Siberia, as did their cousins in the USA twelve years later.

The full story of Mennonite war resistance in Russia appears on page three.

## A BIGGER PEACE NEWS on April 1

AT the beginning of this year we announced the possibility of a larger Peace News. We asked for an extra £85 a month for the PN Fund, and 200 new readers every month to bring us nearer a balanced economy.

We haven't had either yet. Clearly the situation demands an act of faith, and the directors of Peace News have decided to take the initiative.

On April 1 a new PEACE NEWS will appear, with a page size of 17½ x 11½ inches; the smallest type eliminated; more illustrations and articles more attractively displayed. A generally brighter paper with far better prospects of attracting "the man in the street." We do not propose to give you more to read, but it will be much more readable.

### THIS MUST BE THE TURNING POINT

For four years Peace News sales have declined and, because of this, pacifist influence has grown less. The formative and re-formative years immediately following a war are those in which humanity can, if it will, break the vicious circle of war — bad peace — rearmament — war. We are hovering between the second and third phases; for pacifism, it is probably now or never.

10,000 Peace News a week is not enough, but 10,000 devoted pacifists could change the world. We therefore beg every reader to ask himself if there is not more that he can do to make our influence felt. YOU can sell Peace News at meetings; YOU can deliver copies to interested people; YOU can have an extra copy shown at your newsagents; YOU can post on your copy every week. And YOU can give invaluable financial help too.

We renew the appeal for £250 in the PEACE NEWS FUND by the end of next month. An ever generous supporter in Norfolk has just sent another £50. Will you send fifty pounds—fifty half-crowns, fifty shillings, fifty pence? I think you will—and our gratitude will be as great for fifty farthings which we know to be your most.

From now to the beginning of April we shall report weekly on the progress of the PEACE NEWS FORWARD FUND. Give it a flying start!

Contributions since Feb. 9, 1949: £63 1s. 8d.  
Total for 1949: £296 0s. 8d.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News Ltd., and address them to the Accountant, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

### C.O.s IN RUSSIA — 1930

In lieu of military service, the group shown here worked in Siberia where they manufactured turpentine. In an earlier period the workers of one camp exterminated insect pests and were known as "Phylloxera-commandos."

### 1948

The following message was sent by Moscow pacifists to the War Resisters' International Conference in England.

"Please pass our best wishes to the comrades gathered at your Conference and tell them that we hope they will redouble their struggle against any new war and against the false view that any institution based on force can ever end war. Wars will cease only when the consciousness of nations has ripened to the point of recognising the pre-eminence of moral welfare as compared with the material. When nations cease to protect their interests with weapons of war, only then can the evil of war actually disappear. We hope the time will come when men of all nations will refrain from any participation in war and will direct their efforts towards the true realisation of love and concord in all their mutual relations."



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## LONG WAY HOME

A NUMBER of correspondents have called in question our judgment on the Stalin peace-offer, as "the sheerest propaganda manoeuvre." That is as it should be. There is room for a multiple divergence of opinion within the pacifist movement. It is the aim of PN to present as many different views as possible, in order to stimulate readers to think out political issues for themselves. In fact, the same number (Feb. 11), in which our analysis of Stalin's motives appeared, carried a Commentary by Roy Sherwood that might have been written as a riposte.

One or two correspondents, however, instead of stating their reasons for adopting a different judgment, merely assert that ours is wrong—or even that it is "unpacifistic" (as though, "I renounce war, and will never support or sanction another" means, "I do not believe that foreign politicians ever try and fool us, or if they do, I will never say so"). And some have manifestly misunderstood us altogether.

Since the matter is not unimportant, may we point out—chiefly for the benefit of these latter that we did not say that negotiation between Heads of States was always undesirable? What we meant to imply was this: that while there is a time for negotiation, there is also a time when the pursuit of it may actually lead us away from our goal—supposing that goal to be peace. Nobody has understood this better than Gandhi, whom even the most militant pacifist will hardly call "unpacifistic." There are seasons when the most useful thing we can do is so to devote every ounce of our energy to the transformation of the existing situation, that negotiations may, at a future date, be resumed with some prospect of success.

Thus, the present rulers of Russia appear to be so firmly convinced, by their Leninist logic, of the inevitability of capitalist encirclement and aggression, that the one purpose served by discussions would be to knock a propaganda-weapon out of their hands. But there is always a chance that either they or their successors may one day read the situation differently: and the best way to increase that chance is to give them a different situation to read.

It is noticeable that Prof. Varga, who was recently assailed in the Soviet Press for disputing the imminence of capitalist breakdown, is still at liberty to publish his views. Evidently, therefore, this doctrine is not yet *de fide*. If peace-makers in the West concentrated on the elimination of those economic rivalries which partially justify Communist suspicion, and the creation of a balanced economy such as Wilfred Wellock has sketched, the lesson might not be lost on the East. A Western Europe and America reconstructed on the Scandinavian model might cause even the Kremlin to doubt whether world peace does really depend on world Communism. The realism of a Varga might triumph over the dogmatism of a Stalin. Then the time would be ripe for negotiations.

And even if negotiations failed, our exertions would not have been vain. For there is ample evidence to show that those countries with a healthy political and economic structure are in the best position to resist a totalitarian imposition without recourse to violence. The long way home is, as so often, shorter than the apparent short cut.

# All is grist....

FROM last Sunday's Observer, I learn that Halvard Lange, the Norwegian Foreign Minister, who appears to have his country's support for the abandonment of neutrality, was one of the teachers who played such a prominent part in the resistance to Nazi domination, and paid for his courage with four years in Sachsenhausen.

Herr Lange, The Observer writes, "was not trained for patriotic martyrdom." The only evidence for this statement, however, seems to be that he "comes of a family distinguished by its faith in peace"—his father was a Nobel Peace Prize winner—and that he himself worked, in his spare time, for the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

I am not quite sure what "training for martyrdom" means, but if membership of a pacifist society does not amount to just that, I certainly don't know what does. It might surprise The Observer's columnist to learn how many Norwegian pacifists fought side by side with Herr Lange, and perished in the same concentration camp.

PRESUMABLY Herr Lange has now changed his views on the method of resistance most appropriate to a tyrannical regime. But there is no reason to suppose that he ever believed resistance itself to be uncalled-for. Pacifists, after all, cannot in the nature of things be neutral between democracy and totalitarianism: if only because democracy and peace are alike in being based on respect for the person, whilst totalitarianism and war are alike in denying it.

Herr Lange may have been reminded of this when he was confronted, on his recent visit to the United States, by the embarrassing obstacle to a military alliance represented by the U.S. Constitution. Commenting on this obstacle, the Manchester Guardian (Feb. 15) wrote:

"Democratic Constitutions are not drafted with a view to waging war. If they contain certain safeguards which make the declaration of war a dangerously cumbersome procedure, that is one of the dangers which democracies have always had to accept; it is part of the price we must pay for the privilege of governing ourselves."

But Democratic Constitutions only reflect, in this respect, the nature of democracy itself. The more democratic a country, the more it is at a disadvantage in power-politics. It is merely tautological to add that the less efficient war-machine is bound to succumb.

Herr Lange may yet be compelled to ask himself again, whether democracy, if it is to be defended effectively, will not have to find a more appro-

priate means of defence than military preparations and pacts. It is hopeless to challenge in his own field such a specialist as the opponent who "understands no argument but force"; he can only be hopefully challenged with an argument he does not understand.

THE same Observer contains an item headed, "No Prospect of Malaya Peace This Year." The situation in Malaya is so confused that it may be worth setting on record the views of an Indian friend of mine, who has been investigating it on the spot. He tells me that the so-called "bandits" really are, for the most part, bandits, with only a sprinkling of Communists among them; and their activities are heartily disliked by the mass of Malaysians and Chinese. Their adoption of nationalist slogans, however, has seriously embarrassed the genuine nationalist movement. It cannot suppress them, as it would like to do, without appearing to co-operate with the British authority, and thereby playing into their hands. If the British would leave the job to the nationalists, they would very soon bring it to completion, and Britain, at the same time, would win another friend in the East, where at present she is making enemies. Unfortunately (as the Earl Baldwin episode goes to show) the Colonial Office appears to have exhausted its statesmanship with the evacuation of India. In the interests of winning the cold war, it prefers to lose a series of hot ones.

DICK BARTON has a rival in San Francisco's Lone Ranger. But on Jan. 8, a new element entered into the Lone Ranger programme. North Californian listeners were enjoying the usual spectacle of wild Indians attacking settlers, and Lone Ranger and Tonto riding to the rescue, when, "Go up into the pass," the hero told the settlers, "They won't attack you there."

Up in the pass, the settlers encounter—a Quaker doctor. "Put up your guns," orders Lone Ranger, "you won't need them here"; and sure enough, when the pursuing Indians ride in sight, the doctor has only to go out and talk to them for them to greet him in a friendly manner, and depart. The settlers are amazed. "How did he do it?" they ask. The masked man explains: "The doctor is their friend. He came out here to live among them and takes care of them when they are sick. They won't attack anyone who is with him."

The doctor's ex-girl friend is among the settlers. "She wouldn't marry me because she thought I was a coward," the Quaker explains to Lone Ranger. But the girl has now seen how he handles the Indians. "I know now that he is a brave man," she exclaims, "He wasn't afraid to come out here, and live among all these Indians." And so, I need hardly

## CALLING ALL U.S. READERS

BILL RAWLINSON, staunch PN reader from Texas, asks you to co-operate with him in a great scheme to get Peace News read in every University in the States. Bill's on an extended visit to New York, and writes us as follows.

"I have been seized by the desire for a little gift of one hundred three-month gift subscriptions to Peace News, to be sent to Universities. Since Peace News is a valuable paper for the future, many librarians would surely renew the subscriptions on the University's own account."

"Knowing few people in New York and not having the fifty dollars this scheme will cost, I hope you will carry in your columns this appeal to New York readers to join in the following plan."

And here is Bill's plan, but let us say right here that we see no reason why NY should have all the kudos for sponsoring it. Let all U.S. readers take a share—and if Bill's method of raising five dollars doesn't catch on, just go about it your own way!

"Will nine New York friends of the peace movement phone the Donor Centre at 326 E. 39th Street (which has advertised for blood donors recently) and arrange an appointment? Donors are given an honorarium of five dollars—the process hurts little and takes about half an hour including the wafers and coffee they serve afterwards. Then send the money Air mail to Peace News, in time to start gift subscriptions to ten schools by Easter. If nine besides myself will do this, the project will succeed; and it will be a spiritual investment for peace which cannot fail to produce a harvest in the future."

My five dollars is enclosed.

With best wishes,

BILL RAWLINSON."

We have a list of several hundred Universities and junior colleges and invite you to name those you wish us to supply. If you send the funds we will gladly do the rest.

add, the Quaker wedding is celebrated there and then....

MAJOR THOMAS NIAL, who writes a syndicated column for the U.S. Oakland Tribune, reported on Jan. 20, that "the Army is hungry for second lieutenants." In fact, it has a number of special recruiting programmes under way. The Major warns his readers, however, of one "big point" it makes: "They won't take you if you are a conscientious objector."

## The Miller

which all who read (and write in) Peace News can join in wishing the new State complete success.

HENRY HASSAN

21 Orchard Court,  
Stone Grove, Edgware, Middx.

## By-Elections and peace

ACCORDING to the Manchester Guardian, the candidates in by-elections taboo foreign politics and concentrate on housing, health and food. Yet not only our food and housing, but our very existence, depend on a wise foreign policy. The electors in Hammersmith for example, should know what is the attitude of the Christian Socialist candidate towards:

1. A military budget of about £800 millions.
2. The continued manufacture, by our ally, of atomic bombs.
3. The offensive-defensive military preparations involved in the Western Union and Atlantic Pact.
4. The holier-than-policy of Mr. Bevin and Mr. Acheson towards Russia.

These and kindred questions are more vital to our domestic problems than the petty fiddling in which our politicians delude the simple electors.

(Rev.) RICHARD LEE

8 South Avenue,  
Stoke Park, Coventry.

## Asian Switzerland

MAURICE CRANSTON, in his commentary of Feb. 4, gives as his guess that a third world war would find Israel on the side of Russia.

Surely it is enough that the Foreign Office have wrongly interpreted political thought in Israel: one expects a more balanced outlook from those who are charged with the responsibility of writing in Peace News.

Broadly, Mr. Cranston appears to base his views on the fact that there is no specially pro-Western group in Israel. He knows of the existence of a centre group and a pro-Soviet group, and he appears to think that as there is no pro-Western group to balance the other end of the see-saw, the pro-Soviets will have it.

It seems beyond the ken of Mr. Cranston to consider that the effective counterweight to a pro-Russian school is not after all a pro-Western school: that in fact perhaps the best answer to a pro-Soviet party is to be neither for the Soviet system nor for the Anglo-American system of states.

In the recent elections in Palestine the party with the middle-of-the-way foreign policy received the largest number of votes.

In the words of Professor Brodetzky, "Peace and co-operation with both the Anglo-American and the Soviet powers is the Jewish ideal. And may not Israel become a West Asian 'Switzerland' permanently neutral in any quarrels that may arise in the world of the great States?" Major Eban the special Israeli representative to the United Nations re-

## LETTERS

cently declared in New York that one of the primary objectives of Israeli foreign policy will be to promote peace and understanding between the Eastern and Western Powers.

The State of Israel is a young State, reborn in a world of strife. It has to go through a period of trial and testing first in the art of self-preservation and then of contributing its further share towards the peace and happiness of mankind.

The most reasonable estimate is that powerful forces are at work in Israel for the reconciling of the two conflicting systems of States, and their ideologies: and this is a task in



## The story of the Mennonites is —

# THE HISTORY OF ALTERNATIVE SERVICE

THE story goes back to Empress Catharine, who in 1763 heard of the plight of the Mennonites in Danzig and West Prussia as they struggled against conscription for the armed forces of a war-rampaging German nation.

Although unprincipled and savagely cruel as a woman, she was shrewd and farsighted as a ruler. Regarding agriculture as the backbone of national prosperity, she became interested in settling her millions of unoccupied acres along the Black and Caspian seas.

Empress Catharine offered persons repressed for economic, religious or political reasons, liberal inducements, such as free land in abundance, free transportation, tax exemption for a limited time, exemption from military, and certain civil obligations, religious and educational freedom, and even support until they were able to stand on their own!

Wary of such a splendid offer forwarded by a personal emissary of the Empress, the Mennonites sent two men to investigate the land. Encouraged by their reports and tired of Prussian militarism and its call for men, groups of Mennonites made plans to migrate to Russia. Not anxious to lose to their Russian rivals any of their prosperous farmers or industrious labourers, the Danzig and Prussian authorities denied passports to all prospective emigrants who had property, and granted them only to the poor. By 1788, about a thousand of the poorer class of Mennonites had arrived in Russia.

### EARLY STRUGGLES

Because all ministers owned property, not one was permitted to accompany the group. Poverty-stricken, homesick, pastorless and living in temporary shelters, the Mennonites, with misery heaped upon misery, were not given the flat, fertile land promised but were ordered to settle on rocky, treeless plains. Grasshoppers, drought, deaths and inexperience added havoc. But no matter, participation in warfare is incompatible to the Christian faith, the shepherdless Mennonites said.

By 1840, ten thousand Mennonite conscientious objectors lived in Russia. The story of their labours, especially their introduction of four year rotation of crops, fallowing, efficient farm machinery, planting of shade and fruit trees, drew the attention and visit of Crown Princes Alexander I and II. There was no deviation from their opposition to war.

The blow fell in 1870.

The Mennonites discovered that exemption from military service and other privileges were to be nullified. Alarmed, they sent delegates to see the Czar, outlined their opposition to conscription, and asked for the exemption the Empress had guaranteed.

C. Henry Smith, in "The Story of the Mennonites," gives a report of the delegates' efforts: "If Mennonites were completely exempted, said Count Hayden, then all the Russians would want to be Mennonites. Assured by Elder Suderman that even non-combatant service under the War Department would not be acceptable to the Mennonites, the Count replied that if everybody were like Mennonites in this respect, stable government would be impossible, since it would be overrun by its enemies. Deputy Epp answered that if all were like the Mennonites there would be no need for defence against enemies since there would be no enemies, to which the Count agreed."

Next, money payment in lieu of service was suggested, to which the Mennonites objected.

There was one Biblical injunction and that was to move on, to flee. Correspondence with American Mennonites was instituted, with plans to emigrate.

A group of Hutterites visited America, interviewed President Grant and asked for a guarantee of military

British boys of eighteen, registering tomorrow as conscientious objectors to military conscription, have the right to choose alternative service if they feel that their objection does not reach the point at which complete exemption is needed.

Many may wonder how the concept of alternative service originated. Who pioneered the way for this important addition to the rights of man? Which country first conceded the right of conscripts to turn aside from learning the art of destruction to do constructive work for the community?

The answer is to be found in the treatment accorded to Mennonite conscientious objectors seventy-five years ago in Russia.

For more than 400 years Mennonites have been consistently opposed to participation in warfare and it is to their denomination that more than one half of American COs adhere.

The following account of the resistance of the Mennonites is taken from The Reporter, journal of the American National Service Board for Religious Objectors. The illustrations, after many enquiries in Europe and America by Peace News, were found in Manitoba, Canada, and are reproduced by courtesy of Richard Steinback.

During the Revolution, the Mennonites suffered a succession of tragedies, political oppression, religious persecution, destruction of property, famine, disease, rapine, and wholesale massacre far beyond that experienced even by their Dutch forefathers in the darkest days of the Inquisition. Particularly during the reign of Machno whole families were brutally murdered in cold blood, villages were devastated, men were beheaded. Being Christians and considering war to be incompatible with Christian faith, they dared not fight back. Historians and militarists here may learn that a genuine CO is made of real "stuff."

Through all this, the Mennonites said, as did the apostle Paul, "Vengeance is mine. I will repay, said the Lord." As can be expected, a few well-meaning youths deviated from their peace principles, but this was officially declared as a blunder and a violation of their traditional peace principles, with some of the participants openly confessing their error.

TO CANADA

Following their traditional pattern of not fighting back but fleeing instead, the Russian Mennonites inaugurated plans to leave Russia. Through the assistance of American Mennonites and the Canadian Pacific Railway about 4,000 came to Canada. By 1930, 21,000 Mennonites had been transported to Canada, about two-thirds of them on credit extended by the Canadian Pacific. Several thousand were transported to S. America.

In 1929, the German Reichstag voted a substantial sum of money to aid an emigration project, which the German Red Cross and other organizations supported.

Not all Russian COs were Mennonites. Cornelius Krahn, writing in "The Mennonite" says: "The religious groups from which most COs came were the Mennonites, Baptists, Evangelicals, and the followers of Count Tolstoy."

Chertkoff, Tolstoy's secretary, was instrumental in founding an agency in Moscow after the Revolution to aid all COs. This "United Council of Religious Organizations and Groups," was of great help to thousands of Christians and COs and kept in touch with governmental decrees affecting their non-resistance.

Very little is known of the status of church bodies in Russia today. In 1947 there were 10,000 Mennonite displaced persons in the various zones of Europe. Over 2,000 of these have been transported to South America. It is estimated that about 98 per cent. of the Mennonite DPs have maintained the CO stand, and refused to take sides during the past war. The bulk of them returned with the receding German army during 1943 and since that time have been wanderers. Fifty per cent. of the men from the ages of 16 to 64 have been killed, transported to Siberia or elsewhere. No one knows what happened to the other ninety thousand.

### "EXTERMINATE THEM"

The story of the Mennonites in their efforts to worship according to the dictates of their conscience is one of pathos and sorrow. Tragedy has been heaped upon misery, as for instance in Holland where, a couple of centuries ago, 1,000 mounted policemen were ordered to exterminate them. Little wonder then that they have one of the most effective and most productive relief organisations now operating in Europe.

Oppression, persecution and destruction cannot stamp out the non-resistance held by Mennonites—it has been tried before!

## RUSSIAN COs OF 1885



Mennonites in the Forestry Service in South Russia in 1885. Paid from 6d. to 9d. a day, these COs planted acres and acres of forests and laid out model orchards. Their friends and relatives who felt alternative service to be a compromise with a possibility of a total eclipse of the non-resistant stand, moved to the American Midwest in the 1870's—but many of their sons and grandsons served in the American counterpart seventy years later.

military law. The specific promises, later enacted into law, were exemption from military service, in lieu of which they were to be assigned to duty in hospitals, factories, or especially in forestry service where they were to be permitted to work together.

The majority seemed satisfied with these seemingly liberal concessions, but there was a strong minority who believed that any service under the guise of military law would be a violation of their peace principles. Preferring emigration to any compromise with their consciences, the minority group insisted that the alternative service was keeping the back door open for entrance into later full military service. Entire villages, despite the concessions, prepared for departure and trekked to America, where fellow Mennonites helped them.

The Mennonites who decided to stay exacted a specific promise from the Russian Government that the alternative service would have no connection with the military machine or the Department of War, and that their own ministers would have charge of the young men.

The first projects prepared were for Forestry Service, in which it was stipulated that the Mennonites were to bear the financial responsibility of barracks, clothing and food. The governmental department, which had no connection with the War Department, agreed to pay the boys 20 kopeck (from 6d. to 9d.) per day. Inductions began in 1881.

With a camp setup similar to the Civilian Conservation Corps camps later used by the conscientious ob-

The assignees were scattered throughout Russia, some in remote forests and others in sparsely populated areas; some of the men actually starved to death because food could not be got to them.

During the Russo-Turkish and Japanese Wars, the Mennonites spontaneously aided thousands of wounded soldiers, and it was along this line that a new service developed.

Statistics for 1916 reveal that there were 4,988 serving in the State Forestry Service and 6,548 in the Hospital Service with Mennonite contributions for support recorded as about \$200,000.

In 1917 there were twelve to fourteen thousand COs with church contributions of 2,593,696 roubles (about \$422,000). By this time one-tenth of the entire Mennonite population was drafted for Public Service, while those at home had to support this work financially.

Before the Revolution the Mennonites had been exempted from military service in Russia for 135 years. After the downfall of the Czarist regime in 1917, six thousand foresters followed the army back home. The next year the forestry service was ended.



# WHITE RETREAT

Colour Prejudice, by Alan Burns.  
Allen & Unwin, 12s. 6d.

**THIS** is a valuable essay on an important subject.

Only a third of the people of the earth belong to the Caucasian or "white" races, but during a period of more than four hundred years they succeeded in so enlarging their empires that, at the end of the last century, they dominated politically or economically almost the whole world.

Not surprisingly they came to believe that white men were inherently better than coloured ones whom they treated with contemptuous arrogance. In North America and Australia the native people resisted until they were practically wiped out. In Africa, the Confederate States of America and India they learned humility and obedience, but often "at the terrible cost of lack of self respect, shiftlessness, tale-bearing, theft, slovenliness and sexual looseness." Elsewhere they resented the insults, but endured them because they must.

With the twentieth century the tide turned. The defeat of the Russians by the Japanese in 1904 stemmed the advance of the whites. Their power and prestige began to ebb, and ever more quickly they have drained back to Europe, from whence they came. Only where they have become indigenous do they remain, and not always comfortably there. The racial antagonisms, the prejudices and resentment are still active, and the possibility of a "conflict of colour, more terribly primitive in its impulses, more inexorable, more destructive than any of its predecessors, the authentic Armageddon, stamping out in blood and ruin the last hope of civilisation" may be just as real, if not so immediate, as that of a war between rival ideologies of the West.

Sir Alan Burns spent over forty-two years in colonial administration, and became Governor of the Gold Coast. Because it is within his own long experience he writes with particular reference to the relationship between whites and blacks, but he emphasises that colour prejudice is not limited to them: blacks despise yellows, and browns scorn (pigmentally) reds. Nor is it entirely a modern phenomenon. It was known in the ancient world, but has grown tremendously because of the conditions of modern civilisation.

The black peoples are in some ways an exceptional case. Unlike the yellow and brown, who have histories of culture and conquest comparable to the white, they have never achieved a civilisation of their own. This has led some antagonists to declare that they are sub-human, or incapable of taking a full and equal place with other races. The author, after describing the discrimination practiced against them on this and other grounds, examines their alleged inferiority, and the differences between them and other races. He has to admit many failings, particularly their lack of purpose and stability but is of the opinion that it has not been proved, scientifically or otherwise, that the black man is inherently inferior to the white.

This is an informative and encouraging book, and makes an excellent introduction to its subject. It has two good indexes and curiously copious footnotes which, besides giving references to the many quotations, maintain a sort of running commentary on the text.

T. RENDALL DAVIES.

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## No Peace Without Pacifism

"German Realities," by Gustav Stolper. Reynal & Hitchcock, New York.

**A** GUIDE to the Future Peace of Europe" is the publisher's description of "German Realities," a 1948 book by a former member of the German Reichstag and proprietor and editor of the "German Economist."

Austrian by birth and typically American in appearance, Dr. Stolper left Germany in 1933 to avoid Hitler. In 1947 he returned for a time as a member of a commission led by Herbert Hoover. Back again in the U.S.A. he wrote this book. In itself, his volume would make us despair of peace. It is a "Guide" only in the sense that, unintentionally, the author overwhelmingly enforces the pacifist belief that without a new great turning of the peoples to pacifism there can be no peace.

In the eighteenth century great wars may have been just controllable. Today they release destructive forces all too evidently beyond rational control. In Dr. Stolper's review the aims of the war and the post-war measures arising are seen as visionary, self-contradictory and futile except for harm. The leaders appear as deceived by their own propaganda, and so confident in their military power as to make decrees grotesquely opposite to the facts. Sheer power can keep such rulers in being, but first the governed and later the others suffer.

Dr. Stolper prints the Yalta and the Potsdam Agreements and also the Quebec Agreement between Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill, made in September, 1944. Industry in the Ruhr and the Saar was then to be closed down and Germany was to be converted into "a country principally agricultural and pastoral." After that, with British and American concurrence, Germany's principal agricultural lands were turned over to Poland and Russia, and, with millions of refugees forced into what was left of the country, Germany became no more capable of living pastorally than Lancashire or London. The Quebec concept, says Stolper, now "makes funny reading. . . . But there is nothing funny about the misery an American policy based on this concept has created or helped to prolong."

How can one indicate the welter of confusion tossing between the still-blowing gales of war and the rocks of fact? Germany is shown to have suffered "biological destruction" to an extent sufficient in itself to prevent any resurrection of military

power; yet Anglo-America proceeds with controls as if all that had never happened.

A federal Germany is envisaged, but the Zones cut across the old, historic Germanic units and so deprive federalism of its very basis. Poland's western frontiers are to be "finally delimited"; yet by speaking of "former German territories" the frontier has been already practically fixed. The "big business" support of Hitler is shown to have been a myth; yet America, the champion of private enterprise, by its actions based on this myth has done much to lay, in Germany, a foundation for Communism. "War potential" is a target for destruction; but all heavy industry could be so described, although without such industry Germany cannot support herself and cease to be a burden upon the West. Examined, the "internationalisation" of the Ruhr proves to be a pretence while Europe is not one. A democratic Germany is the aim; yet foreign occupation nullifies and will nullify democratic rule. And so on, with details in support; while over all is the frightful contradiction between the Yalta and Potsdam "agreements" and the present cold war between those who "agreed."

Dr. Stolper's "Pattern of Peace" offers little except the verdict that "the future of Germany is the future of European liberty." Through no fault of "German Realities" this view threatens rather than doth promise ought. While force is honoured as providing the ultimate security for America or Britain or Russia, war's trial of forces will come again, and with and before war, myth-making propaganda will again and again prohibit peace.

Exhaustion and armistice; recovery and war—so the endless nightmare looms. Escape is in countless individuals beginning to live peaceably. They are immune to propaganda; they call no wrong right; yet they separate goodness from violence; and they reject this last. However well-meaning, as we can see today, faith in force is chaining us to war. These are the chains to be lost; here is the world to win.

PERCY REDFERN.

## FINALLY COMES GOD

Existentialism, by Paul Foulquié, translated from the French by Kathleen Raine. Dennis Dobson, 7s. 6d.

**EVEN** those who don't make philosophy their particular study have come across this term "existentialism" without being able to grasp the exact meaning of the word.

The fact is that there are various meanings attached to the same notion according to the philosopher who makes it his own. In this study, M. Paul Foulquié has set out to clear the field and to give a full survey of what existentialism really means.

He rightly traces existentialism back to its opposite, namely "essentialism," which affirms that there is an essence, independent from what we actually see, an essence more pure than anything existent. Plato called these essences "ideas," reflected only and impoverished in our world of appearances. St. Augustine, in his turn, declared the divine mind, the source and seat of these "ideas." Morality, as long as this conception prevailed, could be thought of as something absolute and over-individualistic.

Now atheist existentialism, such as Jean-Paul Sartre's, bluntly denies that there is anything whatsoever before there is actual existence: "... man first is . . . and afterwards he is this or that." This being so, we are entirely and solely responsible for what we choose to become and to do. We are in this world, left entirely to ourselves, without any certainty about what may or may not be beyond; we have to choose at every moment, absurdly free in our choice and absurdly

unfree in having to make a choice. Every individual has to "assume" the world, though lacking any scale of values on which to base his behaviour. That, to Sartre, is the source of existential anxiety, for in his mind "every one of our acts places at stake the meaning of the world and the place of man in the universe: by each of them, even if we do not intend it, we constitute a scale of universal values. . . ."

These few indications may suffice to show the sort of post-war nihilism into which atheist existentialism is leading, with as many ways out as you want, but all of them open to nothingness and sheer absurdity. M. Foulquié rightly wonders why, being completely free in choosing his philosophy, Jean-Paul Sartre has made such a bad choice as to make life, and philosophy itself, meaningless. The argument seems to me pretty strong.

But there is also Christian existentialism with Kierkegaard as a Protestant existentialist and the French Gabriel Marcel as a Catholic one. Louis Lavelle, finally, introducing God or the non-self into the very texture of existence, reaffirms that "it is essence that confers value" so that his philosophy "does in fact constitute the synthesis of essentialism and existentialism" (p. 123).

This book is worth close studying by all those who are not frightened by facing the eternal issues of human existence.

MARCEL OPPENHEIMER.

## CHURCH AT WORK

Christian World Mission. Edited by William K. Anderson. Commission on Ministerial Training, the Methodist Church, Nashville, Tennessee. \$1.00.

**CHRISTIANITY** is essentially a missionary faith. It must proselytise or perish. This fact is clearly brought home to us in this valuable and important survey of Christian missions. Indeed, missionary activity might quite fairly be said to be, not merely one aspect of the Church's work, but its whole and entire work.

As W. A. Smart points out in this book in his contribution on the universal work of Jesus, Jesus Himself did not make any special effort to reach the larger world, and certain of His sayings might be taken to mean that His message was only for the house of Israel. His command to "Preach the Gospel to every creature" is considered not authentic.

Until the time of Paul, Christianity remained a national religion. James lived and died a good Jew. Peter was hardly persuaded of the permissibility of associating with Gentiles. Only Paul had the universal vision, and even he conceded that there were certain advantages in being a Jew. Very rapidly, however, the early Church abandoned its belief in the instruction, "Go not in any way of the Gentiles," and the early Christians began to cherish the ideal of the universal Church on earth.

"Christian World Mission" is a symposium written by contributors representing eleven nationalities, at least nine different branches of the Church. All the contributors are scholars of a high order, although it is surprising that a professor of Hebrew and Old Testament exegesis should state that Esther is the only Old Testament book which does not mention God, because, unless we are prepared to accept old-fashioned allegorical interpretations, the Song of Songs does not mention God either.

"Christian World Mission" is an extremely comprehensive survey. The opening chapter on the transition from nationalism to universalism, with its assessment of the work of Jeremiah, Isaiah, Deutero-Isaiah, and Jonah, forms a very fine introduction. Later chapters deal with Protestant and Roman missions, with the effects of the Lutheran Reformation and the Wesleyan revival, and with missionary enterprise in Japan, China, the Philippines, the South Pacific, India, Russia, Germany and Latin America. The third part of the book deals with medical missions, with the relationship between the missionary and the anthropologist, with the issues of religious liberty, and other vital topics.

All internationalists should read this book, whether their internationalism springs from the same source as that of John Wesley, with his claim, "The world is my parish," or from the same source as Karl Marx, with his statement, "The worker has no country." Those who already know something of the work of a great succession of Christian evangelists will find this book to be an inspiring and encouraging record, others may be brought to consider whether the impact which Christian teaching has made upon humanity is not greater than they may sometimes think.

JOHN VINCENT.

## APOSTATE CHRISTENDOM

The author of this new book, the Rev. R. Edis Fairbairn, a minister of the United Church of Canada, is already widely known in this country by his monthly Bulletin which circulates throughout the world. *Apostate Christendom* is an indictment of the disastrous manner in which organised Christendom has worshipped Jesus yet has managed to serve Mars and Mammon by wrapping his teachings in a haze of vapid sentimentalism. A book with really something new to say, written with a directness and brevity of style which admits of no misunderstanding.

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# PUERTO RICAN PEASANTS ARE GOVERNOR'S GUESTS

EARL BALDWIN is not the only West Indies' Governor to make a breach in the fortress of class privilege. Three hundred miles away from the Government House where he held a servants' ball, newspaper correspondents have been kept busy cabling another Governor's references to "colonialism as obsolete in an atomic age."

Below we print a description of the swearing in ceremony of Puerto Rico's "Earl Baldwin," Luis Munoz Marin, the island's first elected Governor. It comes from J. M. Toro-Nazario, Worldover Press Correspondent in San Juan, the capital of this valuable American possession.

SAN JUAN.

PRIDE and prejudice on all fronts were condemned in no uncertain terms by Luis Munoz Marin shortly after he was sworn in as the island's first elected Governor.

Visiting Press correspondents filed stories emphasising the Governor's references to colonialism as obsolete, and nationalism as obsolescent, in an atomic age. But they missed the fact that the new executive had used forethought to demonstrate, on the first day of assuming office, his practical faith in the principles he had put forward in the campaign.

## DANCED WITH THE "JIBARO"

When a huge reception was under way at La Fortaleza, the oldest White House under the American flag, pomp and ceremony gave way before the simple dignity of the scores of peasants who were the Governor's guests. The island's outstanding Negro woman singer danced in turn, to the music of the most widely known Puerto Rican composer, with a Navy Army officer, and a coatless, "jibaro," or peasant, whose classless children, back in a mountain hut, were being taken care of by a godmother vicariously happy over the honour bestowed on her baptismal kinsman.

Evidences of democratic planning were on every hand. In the most predominantly white part of the West Indies, President Truman's envoy was welcomed by a Negro. In the most predominantly Catholic community under the flag, he was followed by the son of a Presbyterian minister. Negro leaders from the mainland, from the Virgin Islands and Jamaica, were among the 600 guests who visited San Juan for the occasion.

Party lines were set aside when Republicans and Democrats came from the States, and when opposition leaders arrived from Puerto Rican towns. A motor float from San Lorenzo, only stronghold of the coalition opposition parties was one of the major attractions in a four-hour parade reviewed by the Governor and three former governors.

## DICTATORS IGNORED

Munoz Marin took advantage of what is left of colonialism in an effort to invite distinguished exiles from certain lands, and thus ignore the official status of dictators. No foreign government was invited as such. As a result, exiles from the Caribbean and from Europe were guests of the island's first elected Governor, and no one had to worry about protocol.

The only frustration came with the cutting, by a woman mayor, of an 800-pound cake shaped like a relief map of the island. Chauvinism lifted its head for the first time, as everyone insisted upon a piece of his home town. Even the mayor of Vieques, the island's oldest municipality, could not have his wish. Otherwise, harmony prevailed.

Some opposition there will be, despite the Governor's clear-cut victory. His own second in command deserted him shortly before the election, to run for Governor on an Independence ticket. There may be dissent in his

# Pacifist Profiles

# XVIII

WILFRED WELLOCK, who celebrated his sixtieth birthday last month, and next month is embarking on his second lecture-tour of the United States since the War, is a pacifist who has never stayed still. If his Christian stand against war has determined much of his experience, that experience has in turn continually widened and deepened his understanding of the things that make for peace. Today he stands, alike in theory and practice, for a way of life which he himself designates "integral pacifism."

Educated at an elementary school, in night-schools, and at Edinburgh University, he was converted to war-resistance by a reading of Tolstoy at the age of twenty. The test of his principles came five years later. He joined the newly-formed No Conscription Fellowship in August 1914, started The New Crusader (which never sold fewer than 10,000 copies) in 1915, and lectured on pacifism up and down the country. Three times court-martialled as an absolutist CO, he served in all prison sentences of two years and eight months.

While in prison, he had time to reflect on the causes of war. By the time he emerged, he was already a Socialist. As one of the founders

of the No More War Movement, Paco (precursor of the War Resisters' International) and the WRI itself, he was mainly responsible for inserting a clause in the Bases of all three organisations, stressing the need for reconstituting society on a peaceable model. What that involves, he has continued to explore and express in a long series of lectures, articles and booklets, including "The Spiritual Basis of De-



(Photo: Richard Haynes, courtesy Vegetarian News)

## WILFRED WELLOCK

mocracy," "Money has Destroyed your Peace," "A Mechanistic and a Human Society," "The Third Way" and (to be issued shortly) "The Rebuilding of Britain"

In the years immediately after the first World War, Wilfred Wellock acted as English representative on a three-language peace periodical, edited at The Hague. He also visited Austria and Germany, to study economic and social questions and deliver lectures on behalf of the British pacifist movement. In 1925, he undertook his first lecture-tour of Canada, and the United States. From 1927-31, he was Labour MP for Stourbridge, during which time he sat on the Select Committee on the Future Government of East Africa—and consistently voted against war credits.

The foundation of the Peace Pledge Union provided a new outlet for his propagandist energy. As Sponsor, member of National Council and Director of Peace News, he has lost no occasion to advance the cause of pacifism. As member of the Forethought Committee and Industrial, Economic and Social Order Committee, he has continually driven home the necessity for a revolution in every department of society, if the conditions of peace are to be realised, a revolution which, he believes, must begin with our own personal lives. He himself has set the example.

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This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

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Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., WC1

own ranks, or it may come from extremists and reactionaries. But the Governor's administration got off to a rousing start.

FOOTNOTE: Puerto Rico, already known to Peace News readers as the U.S. possession with 60,000 non-registrants for military service, is an island of the Greater Antilles group. Area 3,435 sq. miles; population 1,871,344 (three-fourths of Spanish descent and one-fourth coloured). The island was discovered by Christopher Columbus, remained a Spanish possession until ceded to the U.S. following the Spanish-American War.

## TEN YEARS AGO

From Peace News, Feb. 24, 1939.

Six unemployed men, chosen by their comrades of the National Unemployed Workers Movement, had their first square meal for months at the Ritz on Tuesday, when they were the guests of the Peace Pledge Union.

Sir John Simon asked the House of Commons on Monday to approve a resolution increasing to £800,000,000 the amount which the Government may borrow for rearmament and other measures under the Defence Loans Act. Labour spokesmen made no fundamental criticism of the policy which has led to this prospect of a heavy increase to the nation's already staggering burden of debt.

Congratulations from all over the world—"but very few from politicians," as he himself confessed—poured in at the East End home of George Lansbury, Grand Old Man of the Labour and pacifist movements, when he celebrated his eightieth birthday on Tuesday.

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